

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 SAJ-01 SAM-01 EB-07 AID-05 SSO-00

NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SIL-01

LAB-04 COME-00 TRSE-00 FRB-03 XMB-02 OPIC-03 CIEP-01

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FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3162

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

DIA WASHDC

CINCLANT NORFOLK VA

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS BEL

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 3479

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PO

SUBJ: AFM DECLARATION TAKES MODERATE LINE

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REF: LISBON 3361

SUMMARY: AFTER A WEEK OF MARATHON EFFORT, THE MILITARY MARXISTS OF THE AFM HAVE PRODUCED GENERALLY MODERATE PROGRAMMATIC DOCUMENT, WHICH SUGGESTS THAT THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL HAS BECOME SOMEWHAT MORE MILITARY AND LESS MARXIST. THE AFM'S NEW POLICY STATEMENT ENDORSES THE MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM; ACCEPTS ROLE OF NON-SOCIALIST OPPOSITION PARTIES; FORBIDS PARTISAN POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN THE ARMED FORCES; CRITICIZES "PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARY" LEFT; CALLS FOR WORKER AND STUDENT DISCIPLINE; RECOGNIZES SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, DOES NOT CALL FOR FURTHER NATIONALIZATION OR ADDITIONAL AGRARIAN REFORM MEASURES; AND GIVES SUPPORT TO NATO OBLIGATIONS. ON MINUS SIDE, NO CONCRETE SOLUTIONS ARE PROPOSED FOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS (REPUBLICA CRISIS, FOR EXAMPLE); GREATER PRESS CONTROL APPEARS IN THE OFFING, WITH VEILED THREATS AGAINST FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS; CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WILL NOT BE PERMITTED TO DISCUSS CURRENT POLITICAL PROBLEMS. UNITARY ORGANIZATIONS OF THE BASE WERE VAGUELY PRAISED (BUT SPECIFIC MEASURES LEFT FOR "STUDY"). OUR INITIAL ASSESSMENT IS THAT PROGRAMMATIC DECLARATION IS A COMPROMISE WHICH SUGGESTS THAT MODERATES IN RC HAVE HELD THEIR OWN OR PERHAPS EVEN GAINED.

END SUMMARY

1. THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (RC) OF THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT (AFM) ISSUED ON JUNE 21 THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMMATIC DOCUMENT ON ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES SINCE THE ORIGINAL "PROGRAM OF THE AFM" WAS ISSUED IN APRIL 1974. THE DOCUMENT EMERGED AFTER A MARATHON WEEKLONG SESSION OF THE RC POLITICAL COMMITTEE AND THE RC. THE DOCUMENT IS MODERATE IN SUBSTANCE AND TONE. MAIN POINTS FOLLOW:

2. INTERNATIONAL: DOCUMENT SAID FOLLOWING: "ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, THE AFM WILL FOLLOW A POLICY OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD. WITHIN THESE PARAMETERS ESTABLISHED ALLIANCE AND COMMITMENTS, NAMELY THE PARTICIPATION OF PORTUGAL IN NATO, WILL BE RESPECTED IN ORDER NOT TO PREJUDICE THE POLITICAL-MILITARY EQUILIBRIUM OF EUROPE."

3. POLITICAL:--
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--DEFINED ROLE OF AFM AS "NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT WHICH WILL ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH ALL UNITARY ORGANIZATIONS OF THE BASE....FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE AFM PROGRAM IN A CONSTRUCTION OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY."
--ENDORSED SOCIALISM, BY WHICH IT MEANS A SOCIETY WITHOUT CLASSES ACHIEVED THROUGH COLLECTIVIZATION OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION ELIMINATING ALL FORMS OF EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN."
--ENDORSED POLITICAL PARTIES AND REAFFIRMED MULTI-PARTY

SYSTEM.

- REPUDIATED "SOCIALISM THROUGH VIOLENCE"
- ACCEPTED ROLE OF NON-SOCIALIST OPPOSITION PARTIES AS LONG AS THEY ARE IN BASIC AGREEMENT WITH DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM.
- FORBADE PARTISAN ACTIVITY IN THE ARMED FORCES.
- SAID MEASURES WOULD BE TAKEN AGAINST "PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARY LEFT."
- LIMITED CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY STRICTLY TO ASSIGNED TASK (PS AND PPD HAD PROPOSED AN HOUR A DAY BE DEVOTED TO GENERAL POLITICAL MATTERS.)
- ISSUED VAGUE PRAISE FOR "UNITARY ORGANIZATIONS OF THE BASE" AND SAID THEY WOULD BE STUDIED AND A DOCUMENT ISSUED SOON. (COMMENT: SOUNDS MUCH WATERED DOWN FROM RADICAL PROPOSALS FOR REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS COUNCILS OR COMMITTEES FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION. END COMMENT)

4. ECONOMIC:

- ACKNOWLEDGED ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, PARTICULARLY THE DROP IN PRODUCTION, THE 8 PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT, AND THE EXPECTED 1.2 BILLION DOLLAR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT THIS YEAR.
- DID NOT RPT NOT MENTION FURTHER NATIONALIZATIONS OR THE NEED FOR THEM.
- DID NOT MENTION AGRARIAN REFORM.
- IMPLIED ACCEPTANCE OF FOREIGN AID AS LONG AS IT DOES NOT LEAD TO FOREIGN ECONOMIC DOMINATION.
- CALLED UPON STUDENTS TO GET BACK TO STUDYING AND WORKERS TO WORKING.

5. ADMINISTRATION:

- CRITICIZED BUREAUCRACY FOR RED TAPE AND SLOW PACE.
- SAID COUNTRY'S ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS HAD TO BECOME MORE RESPONSIVE.
- SAID PURGES (SANEAMENTOS) SHOULD ONLY OCCUR IN IRREDEEMABLE CONFIDENTIAL

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CASES.

6. MEDIA:

- DID NOT MENTION REPUBLICA OR RADIO RENASCENCA CASES.
- SAID AFM WOULD START OWN DAILY NEWSPAPER IN ORDER TO PRESENT "UNBIASED" NEWS.
- CALLED FOR MEDIA TO SERVE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS IN SUPPORT OF REVOLUTION.
- SAID A NEW PRESS LAW EMBODYING "ADEQUATE REVOLUTIONARY LEGISLATION" WOULD BE PREPARED, IF NECESSARY.
- CRITICIZED FOREIGN JOURNALISTS AND HINTED AT ACTION AGAINST THOSE WHO ABUSE PORTUGUESE HOSPITALITY.
- SAID STATE RADIO AND TELEVISION MUST BE UNDER THE AFM.

7. COMMENT: OUR ASSESSMENT, SHARED BY SOCIALIST AND PPD

SOURCES, IS THAT THE DECLARATION IS A MIDDLE-GROUND ACTION PROGRAM. THIS SUGGESTS THAT MODERATES HELD THEIR OWN OR PERHAPS GAINED GROUND IN THE RC. IN A POLITICAL CONTEXT OF RUMORS THAT PARTIES WOULD BE PUSHED OUT OF GOVERNMENT OR EVEN SHUT DOWN AND WHERE INSTALLATION OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKER COUNCILS WAS CONSIDERED A REAL POSSIBILITY, THE RC DECLARATION IS CLEARLY A COMPROMISE AND SHOWS COMMITTEE DRAFTING.

8. WHILE DECLARATION IS ENCOURAGING AND DESCRIBES ITSELF AS A "POLITICAL PLAN OF ACTION," IT DOES NOT SOLVE ANY OF GOP'S PRESENT PROBLEMS, E.G., REPUBLICA IS STILL CLOSED, ECONOMY A MESS, AND ANGOLA ON BRINK OF WAR. WE UNDERSTAND THAT RC WILL RESUME MEETING LATER TODAY, PROBABLY TO TAKE UP THESE, AND OTHER, SPECIFIC PROBLEMS.

9. AFM, AT LEAST FOR MOMENT, HAS SUCCEEDED IN PULLING ITSELF TOGETHER AND IS SEEKING TO RESTORE UNITY WITHIN ITS OWN LEADERSHIP WHILE GIVING COUNTRY A SENSE OF DIRECTION. BUT REAL-LIFE PROBLEM STILL REQUIRE SOLUTION.
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